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PROCEEDINGS
of the
VERMONT
Historical Society



The Diary of Henry Stevens
Sir William Phips and Early Townships of Western
New Hampshire and Eastern Vermont
The Yorktown Sesquicentennial

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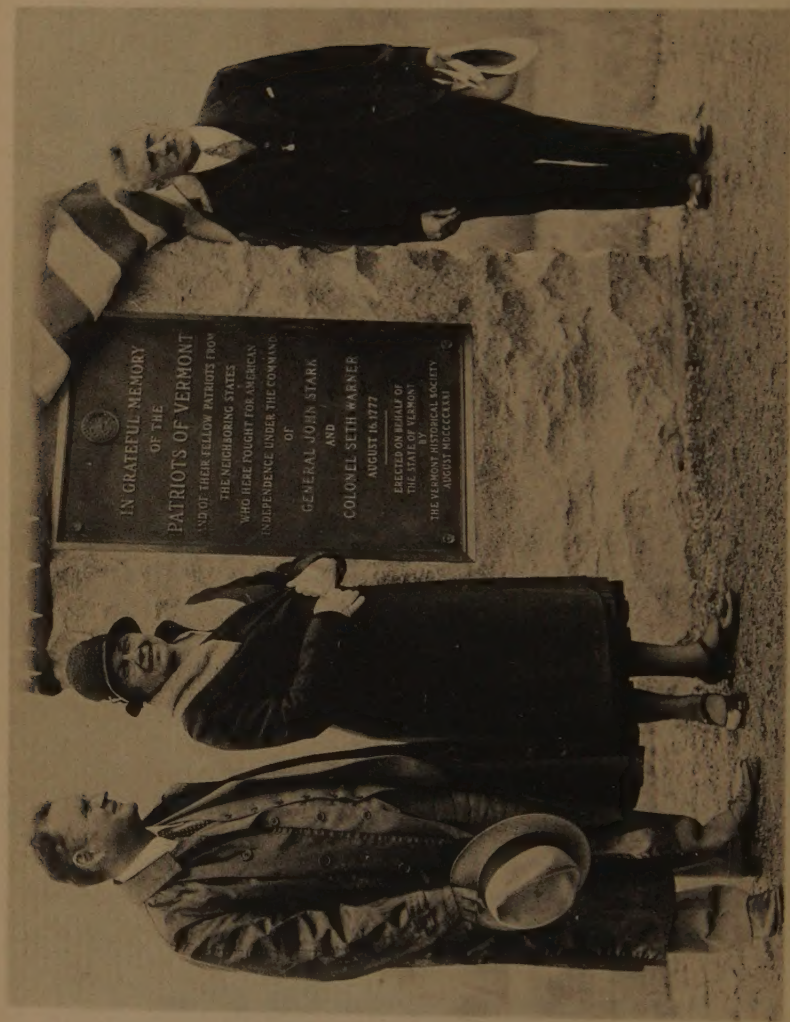
Montpelier Vermont

1931

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GOVERNOR AND MRS. STANLEY C. WILSON AND PRESIDENT SPARCO AT UNVEILING OF TABLET



PROCEEDINGS OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE DIARY OF HENRY STEVENS

This fragment of a diary, which recently came into the possession of the Vermont Historical Society, was written in the year in which Henry Stevens became the founder and first president of the Society. Henry Stevens was born in Barnet, December 13, 1791. He went to the Peacham Academy for a short time, leaving at the age of twelve. He succeeded his father on the homestead. He was a farmer, inn-keeper, and mill owner; a great reader, with a passion for antiquarian study. He was a collector and dealer in old books and manuscripts, and was considered an authority on Vermont history. He was eccentric in person and speech. For a number of years he lived in Burlington, but returned to Barnet, helpless from paralysis, and died there July 30, 1867. A well-known man throughout Vermont in his time, he is more famous as the father of some remarkable sons. His son Henry, known as Henry Stevens of Vermont, became a London bookseller, and was responsible for some of the most notable American collections such as the Lenox Library in New York City. Benjamin Franklin Stevens was also a London bookseller, and descendants of these two sons continue in the business in London at present. The diary shows some indication of Henry Stevens's interest in historical matters, and gives a graphic account of the everyday farm life of the time.

JANUARY 1th A 1838. Monday Evening. This day I sold to Wm Morrison and Mr Hook(?) six cows for \$108. Cows left for market. Paid Lawson Bruce \$30. which I borrowed of him some time since say about 20th, Nov. Paid Peter \$2.10. To John-

- son. Pleasant weather. Henry, my son, was at home to-day. He is keeping a writing school at St Johnsbury. George went to Rye-gate after hay and harness.
- 2d. Mrs Stevens, Sophia and myself went to Peacham to-day in a cutter to attend the temperance meeting. Full meeting. Dined at Mr. Brown's. Ent. \$1.50. Paid Mr Joseph Morrill this morning \$7.00. Paid Peter \$3.00.
- 3d. At home all day. Col. Laird, Elijah McLeran, Wm Gleason had a consultation to-day. Paid Sherborn Lang \$10. on note. One dollar to Mrs Stevens. Notified Buckley to leave the house he now occupies, forthwith. Sister Sophia dined with us to-day. All well.
- 4th. All hands well and at work. I went up to Peter Linsey's and hired him to draw two logs and lay them by the side Turnpike sidling place. Called to see Bartholomew Somers. Mrs Stevens went up to see Mrs Skinner this afternoon. Brother Willard thrashing oats. I give him \$0.56 cts per day and he boards himself. Works well.
- 5th. Myself, Mr Salter and Mr Samuel Heath went to work drawing stone on to the side of the turnpike by point of ledge north of E. McLeran's. Eat our dinners at James Gilbreath. James Ferguson called on me for \$2.00. I let him have it. Warm weather for the season, quite muddy in the road. Fields all bare. This three days I have given the sheep no hay. Give them some corn in the morning.
- 6th. Very pleasant day and warm. Worked with coat off all day. Sun shines as pleasant as first September. Heath and I worked on turnpike drawing stones beyond McLeran's. Mr Palmer has worked 24 days. Paid him \$9.23 in full for his work.
- 7th. Lord's day. Warm and pleasant, went to meeting. Mr How dined and supt with us to-day. All well.
- 8th. Rainy day, snowed but very little. Thrashed corn. Towards evening begun to freeze a little. Salter and James Beard making two sleds.
- 9th. Fine pleasant day. All well. Heath chopping on burnt place. James Beard and Salter drawing out timber for barn on Lisle Hill.
- 10th. About home all day. Very pleasant. In the evening went down to Mr Gleasons.
- 11th. Samuel Gleason came to see me and wished to buy a grist mill privilege. I offered to sell him all below the Saw Mill including the

James Beard house with a right to build a dam crost main stream from corner Saw Mill dam for \$1,000, provided he could trade with Mr Somers who has a lease of a small piece. They agreed Mr Somers is to have a piece of land to put his building on and it is to be moved for him. A mere trifle of snow fell last night. Weather is like September weather. Sheep and cattle ramble about the fields.

- 12th. Nothing new. At home all day taking care of cattle. Paid \$1. for sugar.
- 13th. All well. Sent my son Enos five dollars by mail. Also sent to Wm Fay \$10. to pay for papers (land case). Heath is chopping wood on burnt place. Fine weather.
- 14th. Lord's day. No meeting in the village. At home all day. Warm and pleasant. Solomon Stevens' wife is quite sick. Mrs Stevens watched last night.
- 15th. Warm weather. Snowed a little twice this day. Snow hardly covers the ground. Mr Webster of Lyman has sown five bl. of rye.
- 16th. Very pleasant weather. Cleaning up oats. Took 57 bushels to mill for meal. Brother Willard thrashing. Sent Simon down to the gate for toll money. Got \$12.75. Gave Moses Moor an order on gate for 1.87 for one and $\frac{1}{2}$ days work on turnpike last summer.
- 17th. Nathaniel Heath of Patton, Lower Canada, has worked with me 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ days for 9.81 cents. I paid him for his work and \$6.00 I borrowed of him in whole \$15.81. Also paid Mordecai Hale \$8.00 on note I signed with Goodnough. Paid Carlton \$3.00 on note due B. Somers.
- 18th. After doing my chores I went to the mill and sifted my oat meal. I had 57 bl. of oats. Oat meal constitutes one-fourth of the bread-stuffs for the inhabitants of this town. Warm and rainy. The ground has been bare for several days. Travelling very hard. Mrs Stevens, wife of Solomon Stevens, has been very sick for several days. My wife has been there two nights and several days.
- 19th. About home all day. Rained some and in the afternoon snowed a little. Paid 50 cents.
- 20th. About home all day. Froze a little last night. Nothing going on but to take care of the cattle. Fairbanks Teamster says the turnpike is good to Wells River.
- 21th. Lord's day. All the family went to meeting fore noon. After noon I went. Pleasant day. Nothing new this morning by

- mail except the failure of the Commonwealth Bank Massachusetts, for long sum dishonest devils, one of Jacksons *Wet Banks*. Mrs Stevens is yet quite sick. My wife staid thru last night. My cattle and sheep are doing quiet well. I feed oats straw and potatoes and turnips. No hay to the cattle.
- 22d. Pleasant day. No snow. Borrowed of Skinner \$1.50 to pay Bart. Somers for sugar \$2.00, 20 pounds. Business is very dull. No toll at the gate. But very little travel.
- 23d. Fine pleasant day. In the afternoon clouded up, had the appearance of a snow storm.
24. No snow. Clear sunshine. The road today is quite muddy. At nine in the evening wind south. Looks as though it would snow before morning. Freezes a little this evening. Mrs Stevens watches with Solomon's wife to-night. I learn to-day that Mc-Hersey and Van Ransallear with their troops have left Navy Island in the Niagary River for Lake Erie to join the Patriots at Fort Malden. *God grant* them success is my prayer. Queen Victoria has no business on this continent. New Brunswick Canada ought of right to belong to this government.
- 25th. Froze a very little last night. Clear and pleasant this morning. I kept a drove of cattle last night 70 head belonging to a man living in New London County, Connecticut at 8 cents per head. Cattle are very dear. Paid \$1.00.
- 26th. Warm rainy day. River has risen considerable. Very muddy traveling. No snow to be seen. Connecticut River is broken up in some places. Sheep have not been about the barn to-day. I gave them corn in the lot.
- 27th. Fine weather. Sun shone as pleasant as June. Very muddy in the road. Near night clouded up, looks as though it would snow before morning. We are all well at present. Paid James Beard 1.50, Amorowson 0.50. Sent \$1.00 to New York for James Ferguson.
- 28th. Lord's day. Last night the snow fell about six inches deep. Top of the ground not froze. Appearance of more snow. No meeting in the neighborhood this day. No foreign news by mail this morning.
- 29th. Went to Ryegate for Mr Solomon Stevens to get a girl to nurse his wife. Got none. Tolerable good slaying where the road is smooth. I came home in the evening. Paid Mr Daniel Moor

- \$3.00 in part for weaving this morning. Theophilus Grant and wife came to see us this evening, put up for the night.
- 30th. All well. Nothing new. Very cold day. I went to the funeral of Andrew Linsey. He was about 65 years of age, a Scotchman. This was the second time in Barnet that I ever attended a funeral where there was neither praying nor preaching. *The Devil was in attendance.* That is each person was presented with a glass of brandy. There was but few present but what drank of the spirits.
- 31st. At home all day. Nothing new by mail. This morning not so cold as yesterday.
- February 1st. At home all day. In the forenoon I wrote a letter to Hon. Henry Hubbard also to John Way of Michigan. Took good care of the cattle.
- 2d. At home day. Nothing new. Cold weather. Sent to the gate got 17\$ of toll.
- 3d. Forenoon at home. At noon went up to Elijah McLeran's to funeral. Li's 2d daughter was buried.
- 4th. Lord's day. Went to meeting all hands.
- 5th. At home all day. Took good care of the cattle. In the evening $\frac{1}{2}$ past six it was bright round the moon to appearance ten feet acrost. There was then a circle around the bright spot moon in the middle to approximate 14 feet in diameter. This ring round the moon is not too bright and about two feet wide. There was a second ring round the last circle. The whole appears very odd.
- 6th. Pleasant weather. At home all day. Mrs Stevens at Solomon's. His wife and two daughters are sick.
- 7th. Took good care of the cattle this morning and then went on foot to McIndoe's Falls. Took dinner at the tavern. Told some stories and came home. Got \$21. at gate. Snowed a little in the evening.
- 8th. Snow fell last night and this forenoon about 5 inches deep. All well. Paid Dr Skinner my insurance money \$7.28, also James Goodwillie \$5.00. Took his receipt.
- 9th. About home all day. Nothing new.
- 10th. At home all day. Fine slaying. Sent a letter to Henry at Boston.
- 11th. At home all day. Lord's day. All the family went to meeting. Fine pleasant day. . .
- 12th. Fine pleasant day. At home all day. Nothing new.

- 13th. This morning about two o'clock Solomon Stevens, jr., cried fire at my door. Said his father's tannery was on fire. All hands went full speed. The building was nearly consumed when it was discovered by Mrs Stevens. All the stock out of the vats was consumed say \$700 worth. Buildings insured at \$400. Barn, shed and corn house saved. If the wind had been northerly all would have been destroyed by the fire. I came home and got breakfast and went back and helped cover the pits and fire matters all day. Very tired indeed.
- 14th. About home all day. Sent down to gate and got \$25. R. Stevenson began to work for me Monday morning last.
- 15th. At home all day. Snow is now about one foot deep. Much travel to-day, say 50 loaded sleighs. Hay for market. This afternoon Daniel Hibbard, Silas Houghton & I. P. Ford met as Commissioners to settle the dispute between Solomon & Willard. John Mattocks, attorney for Willard & Mr Bartles Ephraim Paddock attorney for Willard, Mr Houghton & Hibbard staid with me over night.
- 16th. At home all day. Snow fell five inches last night, wind blew very much. The referees attend to the business to-day.
- 17th. At home all day. The referees got through this afternoon and went home. Sent George to gate. Got \$14. of toll in two day, about 12\$ on the 15th inst.
- 18th. Lord's day. Went to meeting forenoon all hands. Nothing new from Canada nor Washington. Col. Laird sued Elijah McLeran yesterday on note signed by E. McLeran, Wm Gleason, H. Stevens and Wm Wilson. Attached all personable property and farm. McLeran is very much in debt.
- 19th. Monday. At home all day. Nothing new.
- 20th. About home all day. Solomon is very much down to the heel feels poor.
- 21st. All well Mrs Stevens & myself started early on a visiting voyage. Dined at John Charlton in Littleton. Charlton married Exa [Experience] Mason. From there I went to see Mr Keyes who is keeping 50 sheep for me. In the evening I met Mr Charlton, his wife & mine, at Daniel Hill in Waterford. Hill married Molly Holbrook. We had a good visit. Mr Charlton left about 10 o'clock.
- 22d. After breakfast left Mr Hills for home. Stopt & dined with Mr Seth Paddleford & wife. Took tea with Mr Pearley Mason &

- family. After tea returned home. All well. Fine pleasant weather. Money scarce.
- 23d. At home all day. Arthur Mason began to work for me last Tuesday at 3/ per day. He is drawing clay from the banks and spreading the same. I design to put on about 50 loads to an acre. I mean to have the clay one inch thick all over the land.
- 24th. Went to Danville. Paid Bank of Caledonia \$16.22.
- 25th. Lord's day. At home all day with Mrs Stevens. Family went to meeting. Cold weather.
- 26th. About home all day. Nothing new. Money scarce.
- 27th. About home. In the afternoon went to lower village. Horace Duncan was at my house Saturday evening last.
- 28th. At home all day.
- Mar. 1. Borrowed of Wallace \$13. Went down to Robert White-law's to attend Turnpike meeting. Returned in the evening. All well. Money rare.
- 2d. About home all day. Nothing new.
- 3d. Went to Ryegate to Mr Manchester for the purpose of taking his deposition. Moses Hall is with us also Samuel Mattocks, Esquire. Mr Hall is anxious for a pension [pension] from government.
- 4th. Lord's day. At home all day. Family went to meeting. Nothing new only Mr Cilly of Maine, member of Congress, was on the 24th Feb. killed in a duel by Mr Graves from Kentucky.
- 5th. At home all day. Nothing new.
- 6th. At home. Town meeting in the village to-day. Josiah Johnson, John Galbreath, John Brock, Selectmen. Miles Shorey, Constable. John Shaw, Town Clerk and Treasurer. Business went good. Robert Harvey and James & Alexander Gilchrist and John Moor I rowed them up Salt River out of sight. They are left with the Heathen to repent of their ways. Dishonest as the very Devil they regard nothing but their own interest. The town appointed a committee to settle with the turnpike comp[any].
- 7th. At home forenoon. In afternoon took a walk to the lower village. James Gilchrist feels bad.
- 8th. This morning I started with James Nelson, Esq., of Ryegate for Montpelier. Dined at Clark's in Marshfield. Arrived at Montpelier about 4 afternoon. Put up at Barnes Temperance house. In the evening went to Berlin to see C. L. Napp [Knapp], Secretary of State. He came in to Montpelier.

- 9th. After breakfast we went to the office of Secretary of State & found the laws we wanted, passed 1782, so to 1783 and 1784. Also the Proceedings of the Governor and Council, 1787 and 1788. I found all the papers Mr Nelson wanted as well as the papers Dr Shedd wanted. All things were in order.
- 10th. After breakfast we started for home. Dined at Clark's, then came home in the evening. I charged Dr Shedd for doing his business \$2.25 and for copy \$.80 in whole 3.15.
- 11th. Lord's day. At home all day. Mrs Stevens went to Lyman to hear Thomas Goodwillie preach. Nancy Nelson is here on a visit for several days. When I was at Montpelier I got some of the State's money A 1781, 1782 and 1783, from Mr Hazen[?] the Treasurer's agent. I called to see Mr Walton and wife. Moses Hall started for Canada this morning in good health.
- 12th. About home all day. Nothing new. All well.
- 13th. Went down to lower village to see the road and got \$16. at gate and \$25 of John Gleason. Money scarce.
- 14th. Went to Danville in the morning. On my way I called to Robert Gilfillan and paid Nancy Nelson \$10. to be indorsed on note she holds against me. My case was argued before the Court in the afternoon.
- 15th. At Danville all day. Came home in the evening. Whig convention in the afternoon.
- 16th. Horace Duncan and Mr Farman were to see me this morning. They wish to have me administer on Luther Warner's estate. In the afternoon, I went over to Lyman to get a girl.
- 17th. About home. Nothing new. All well off.
- April 1, 1838. Money scarce. Henry Johnson tending my son's mill. James Beard framed my new house. Moody Beard moved from where he has lived for nine or ten years. Mrs. Turner[?] came to live with us for a season. Ground all bear. I have two hands and 2 yoke of oxen by the day up to 20th May. They begin last Monday in April. Raised the new house. Mr Homes the joiner has worked several days. I have drawn out all the logs on the burnt place for fence and have harrowed on the new land equal to 5½ days. Sowed four and ½ bl of rye. Drawed stone for new cellar. Sabin Johnson laid cellar wall 4 days. Arthur Mason has worked digging my cellar. Mr Goodnough and his hand has worked 6 days joining on new house. Hay is very short and oats. Cold nights. We have had no snow for a long time.

Windsor Bank is good for nothing. Newbury but little better. I have borrowed \$30 of Sabin Johnson, jun., and \$50 of Henry Johnson. Dr Skinner signed said notes also one other note to Sabin Johnson, jun., for \$50. So we go hoping for the best. James Smily paid me five dollars. Fleetwood \$5.00. Mrs Foss \$5.00 in full. Raised new barn on Lisle lot for Davison. Been to meeting every Sunday. Brindle cow calved this morning.

15th. Lord's day. At home in the evening. Been to meeting. Cold weather. Have now four lambs. Six oxen, not more than half ton of hay. Hired Mr Arthur Mason at 4/ per day. Sylvester Watson and over one dollar, Robert McFarlane \$16 per month and over.

16th. At home all day. Work about new house. Four hands on new land. Brush and hand piles burn very well. Wind high and from the north. Very cold morning. Froze very hard last night. In afternoon went to lower village.

17th. Three hands on burnt place, Fire burns well. In the afternoon went to Waterford. Rec'd of Royal Ross \$80.50 and gave him Caleb Parker's note. Went to Littleton and saw Mr Parker. Staid at Mr Parker's over night.

18th. Started very early in the morning. Rained some and froze. Got home before 8 o'clock. All well. Money that is good for anything is very scarce. Rained moderately most all day. Worked about new house all hands.

18th. About home all day. At work on new land piling logs and — off chunks. Many of the logs are frozen down. Warm day. Rained some in the morning. [For date, see under May first.]

19th. At home. Snowed and rained last night. At work on new land.

20th. At work on new land. Harrowing and hiling. Cold in the morning. Had of Sabin Johnson, jun., \$36. as part of note given a few days since for \$50. The other \$14. he would let me have in a few days. Soued grass seed on the hill. George returned from Wells River this forenoon. He paid on my note to Wm Waddell \$168. in Wells River bills. Paid Homes the joiner \$3.50, part for work.

21st. At work clearing and drawing stones for cellar. Goodnough and his man went home. Worked about 22½ days in whole.

22d. Lord's day. All hands went to meeting but myself. Cold

weather. The ice is four feet thick on the banks of the river. The river is very low. Good crossing.

- 23d. Drawed stones for new house and hands at work on new land.
- 24th. About home all day. Cold weather. At work on new land.
- 25th. Mr Bliss began to build chimney in new house. Sabin Johnson, jur., at work on cellar. Four hands on hill clearing. Windy day. Fire run well. School meeting this morning. Voted to raise money on the schollors to pay Board for mistress. 52 voters present. 27 for and 25 against.
- 26th. About home all day. At work on hill.
- 27th. At work on hill. Sowed 6 bushels rye and wheat, cold.
- 28th. About home all day. Sowing on hill.
- 29th. At home all day. Hands at work on the new house.
- 30th. Lord's day. Went to meeting. Pleasant but cold.
- May first. By mistake in date. 30th April come on Monday in lieu of Sunday. This day I went to St Johnsbury to attend the meeting of the officers of the Agricultural Society. Pleasant day but cold. Wm Potter sowed 2 bl of wheat. Drawed in mill logs this morning. Money very scarce. Returned home in the evening.
- 2d. At home all day. All well. Two hands harrowing on the hill. Mr Homes at work on new house.
- 3d. Sowed 2 bl wheat on the hill. 2 hands harrowing. Rained in the forenoon.
- 4th. Sowed 2 bl rye and 2 bl of rye and wheat. Harrowing and picking up brush. (All well).
- 5th. All hands at work on new land. Henry my son left home for New Hampton Academy. This afternoon I settled with Mr Hutchinson for all matters between us for the past year. Reference to his book—due him about \$38. which he has charged in acct.
- 6th. Lord's day. Went to meeting. All well.
- 7th. About home all day. Stormy forenoon.
- 8th. Cold but not rainy. Two teams harrowing on new land.
- 9th. At home all day. Sowed rye.
- 10th. Began to get out dung with two teams. All well.
- 11th. Drawing dung. Quite warm and pleasant.
- 12th. Drawing dung.
- 13th. Lord's day. At meeting all day.
- 14th. At home all day. Moving into new house. All moved before night. All well.
- 15th. Fencing about new house. Mrs Stevens quite unwell.

- 16th. Fencing and drawing manure.
- 17th. Cold but pleasant. Ploughing for planting and taking out manure. I went to see Col. Laird. Dined with General Mattocks. Went to see Samuel Bruse. Went to Danville. Took tea at Kelsey's tavern.
- 18th. Rained and snowed forenoon. Very cold. Drawed some boards from saw mill. The snow has completely covered Lyman mountain, say 3 or 4 inches deep.
- 19th. At home all day. Fine weather. Three hands clearing on hill. Ploughing on meadows. James Beatie was here. He says he has been to Washington. He passed Cabbot mountain. Yesterday he said the snow was 3 inches deep in the field. Arthur has been at work on the turnpike all the past week. Last Monday the ice on the north side of my island was two feet thick on the bank. Planted the potatoes and sowed the garden seeds. Moved my saws and hoss.
- 20th. Lord's day. At home all day. George & Simon went to lower village to meeting. Hard frost yesterday morning.
- 21st. At home all day. Planting and harrowing on the hill.
- 22d. At home. Fine weather. All well. The Canada plum trees are blown out.
- 23rd. Sowing on the island. Sowed 15 bl. oats.
- 24th. Sowed 14 bushels of peas & oats on island.
- 25th. Finished sowing oats on island. Sowed 6 bushels. Sowing grass seed. Three harrowers going on the island. The water is very high.
- 26th. About home all day. All well. Nothing new. At work all day about the house ploughing & scraping and moving road. Hands making fence and harrowing and ploughing the Burkley garden. Swapt horses with Gen. Ide. I am to give him \$8. to boot. Coolish weather but pleasant. Grass and grain grow finely. No money in the country. Thursday last I sent by Simon to John Gleason \$7. and to Wells River Bank \$300.
- 27th. Lord's day went to meeting all hands. All well.
- 28th. Sowed two bushels of wheat on new land and harrowed. Sowed one quart teasle seed, cabbage and Scotch turnip seed.
- 29th. May. Harrowing and other work. Clearing away dooryard.
- 30th. Went with four hands to work on turnpike north of Bruce's. Warm fine weather.

- 31th. Four hands at work on turnpike. In the afternoon I went to Littleton. Put up with Landlord Pingrey.
- June first. Early in the morning went to see Mr Keyes about the sheep contract. We had a preference. I drove away 42 sheep & 17 lambs. Harry Johnson keeps the said sheep this season at two cents a head for old sheep, nothing for lambs. Got home before dark.
- 2d. About home all day fencing round wheat field. Hard showers this forenoon. Very hard shower yesterday.
- 3d. Lord's day. At home all day. No preaching today. Mrs Stevens went with me to see the grain on new land on the hill. Very growing day. The Connecticut river has risen since Friday very much. The river is now much higher than it has been before this spring. Grass and grain look well. The apple trees are not yet in full bloom. Red cherry trees are now full in the blow. James Beard made my new dooryard fence Thursday last. Pigs doing well. 22 pigs.
- 4th. All well. Nothing new. Watson & McFarland quit work on the 2d inst. Their oxen in pasture.
- 5th. Training day. All hands gone. Rainy forenoon.
- 6th. Washed sheep the best that I ever saw. McFarland began to work about 11 o'clock. All well.
- 7th. About home all day. Rainy weather. At work on the Buckley house lot.
- 8th. Making board fence and work about Buckley.
- 9th. Making fence.
- 10th. Lord's day. Mrs Stevens and hired girl went to meeting and Simon. Warmest day that we have had this season.
- 11th. At home planting potatoes by the Buckley house.
- 12th. Went to Danville. C. Court in session. Turnpike case continued.
- 13th. At home hard at work shearing sheep.
- 14th. Went to Danville. Whig Convention for nominating candidate for member to Congress. Wm Upham was nominated. Said to have been a great P.Master. I will not support him. Sink or swim.
- 15th. At home all day. All well.
- 16th. Shearing sheep over to Sabin Johnson's. Sheared 41 sheep and 17 lambs. Rained hard in the afternoon. Came home in the evening over the road.

- 17th. About home all day hoeing corn. Fine growing time. The new Treasurer's circulation is worse than the first. See the papers of this date.
- 18th. Lord's day. All hands went to meeting. Fine pleasant day.
- 19th. Hoeing potatoes & corn.
- 20th. Fencing.
- 21st. About home all day.
- 22d. Went to Bolton's mill in Danville with 136 lbs of wool to be made into fulled cloth at 40 cents per yard. Cash when done if not 45 cents per yard. Left about 55 lbs to be carded into rolls.
- 23d. At home. Nothing new. All well. Money scarce. Pigs grow well.
- 24th. Lord's day. At home. All day. Meeting at lower village. Rained hard forenoon. Perhaps there never was a time when all crops looked better than they do now. If the season continues this favourable, the labour of the farmers will be well rewarded. Letters from Henry and Enos saying they want money.
- 25th. At home all day. Bartholomew Somers came home today. He has been in States Prison one year. Poor fellow, he is very penitent and says he will drink no more rum.
- 26th. All well. Started for Montpelier. Dined at Marshfield. Arrived at Montpelier about 5 in the afternoon. Put up at Carter's Temperance House.
- 27th. Attended States convention. Wm Griswold, President. Many old Democrats and Federalists. Convention very numerous. 600 in all. Sent 10\$ by Mr Worcester of Middlebury to Enos. Paid Walton \$6.79. Expenses \$4.00.
- 28th. Left M. about 5 in the morning. Breakfasted at Marshfield. Stopt at Esq. Smith's in Cabbot and dined. Came home about 5 o'clock. Much rain today.
- 29th. About home forenoon pulling brakes from among the grain on the new land.
- 30th. About home all day pulling weeds and drawing boards to Lisle hill.
- July 1st. Lord's day. At home all day. All hands went to the Scotch sacrament today. I sent yesterday \$12 by mail to Henry. Beart began to work Thursday morning, 28th June.
- 2d. At home. All well. Having frequent showers.
- 3d. Showery. Very growing weather. All well.
- 4th of July. Forever to be rem[em]bered. Skinner and myself

went to Danville to attend the County Temperance meeting. But very few from neighboring towns. Society adjourned to meet at Danville next fourth of July. About 40 Methodis[t] ministers present. This day was celebrated at Pasumpsick Village. Very great collection.

5th. Whig convention at Danville. Silas Houghton, Charles Davis nominated as candidates for senators from this county. About 2 o'clock very hard shower. Worked the road very much. Growing time.

6th. At work on road. 2 hands shingling house on Lisle lot.

7th. At work on turnpike north of McLeran's. Very warm day.

8th. Lord's day. Meeting at lower village. 5 o'clock meeting. All hands went to meeting. I whips Simon very hard for breach of order.

9th. About home all day. All well.

10th. Nothing new. Warm weather and showery.

11th. About home. John Beard's daughter was buried today.

12th. About home. Nothing new.

13th. Mrs Stevens, wife of Moses Stevens died this afternoon.

14th. About home all day. Funeral of Mrs Stevens afternoon.

15th. Lord's day. All hands went to meeting. Fine growing weather.

August 31st, 1842. Wrote to Daniel Chipman in relation to the Laws of Vermont, in answer to his of May 31th A. 1842. Dated at Ripton, Vt. Also wrote Daniel Baldwin Aug. 30 in relation to my address before the Agricultural Society A. 1838. Sent him a paper North Star of Jan. 1839.

SIR WILLIAM PHIPS AND EARLY TOWNSHIPS OF WESTERN NEW HAMPSHIRE AND EASTERN VERMONT

By GEORGE BAXTER UPHAM

The author of this article, Mr. George Baxter Upham, of West Claremont, New Hampshire, has been for many years a student of the history of his own State, and has written many scholarly and entertaining articles on that history. Very naturally, his researches have led him west of the Connecticut River. He shows, in this article, some almost forgotten bits of ancient romance which had their effects on some Vermont townships; and the map demonstrates how many of the township lines in eastern Vermont were continuations of the township lines east of the river, lines which began from the Great Mason Curve. At a time when inflamed legal oratory seems almost to have stirred up the animosities of a state of border warfare, it is refreshing to have this sort of a reminder that New Hampshire and Vermont are neighbors and sister States, with a long period of common history, and countless present-day indications of this ancient association.

ON several of the early maps of New England, published mostly in London prior to the Revolution, we find in southwestern New Hampshire and just over the boundary line in Massachusetts, a dozen townships to which the name Canada is attached. In fact, on one map a large part of southwestern New Hampshire is designated as Canada. This was on "A New and Accurate Map of the Present War in North America," published in the *Universal Magazine*, London, May, 1754. The "Present War," included in the title, referred to the Seven Years' War, the last of the many French and Indian wars.

In 1535, when Jacques Cartier sailed up the Gulf and River, now called the St. Lawrence, he found along the shore's numerous groups of huts or wigwams. Not knowing a word of the language, Cartier inquired, as best he could by signs, the name of the country and invariably received the reply "Canada" or "Kanatha." Hearing this at

places widely separated he understood it to mean the name of the entire country, while the natives meant the word to indicate merely a village or group of huts. As a result, the name Canada remains the oldest American geographical name in common use today north of the Rio Grande.

How this name of the great area in the north slipped down several degrees of latitude and attached itself to the names of sundry small, sparsely settled townships in New Hampshire and Massachusetts is a question the answer to which introduces to us a character and career perhaps the most picturesque and varied in accomplishments of any in Colonial times; it causes us to search for the wreck of a treasure-laden Spanish galleon among the rocks and shoals of the Spanish Main; it leads us into negotiations at the Court of St. James in the seventeenth century during the reigns of three English kings; it carries us through storm and fog up the great river of the North to Quebec to view the first of several sieges of this Gibraltar of the West, in which two great races struggled for the possession of a continent; it causes us to inquire into a century of diplomatic conflict between Massachusetts and New Hampshire respecting the boundary line and finally to investigate the very beginnings of the world's modern system of finance.

When the summer tourist journeys down the waterways of the coast of Maine, keeping out of reach of the surges of the rough Atlantic, it may be that he travels fifteen or twenty miles on the river steamer that plies daily between Bath on the Kennebec and Boothbay Harbor that lies so snugly ensconced between the Sheepscott and Damariscotta Rivers. About halfway to Boothbay there is a decided broadening of the narrow channel. On the port side a peninsula may be seen extending into the bay, being a part of the little town of Woolwich. Here in 1651, nearly three centuries ago, was born one William Phips, said to have been the youngest of twenty-five children. His father, a gunsmith, had come over from England. He had died when William was young and the boy, without opportunity of school, had tended sheep until he was eighteen years old. Judging from his subsequent career we may safely surmise that he did some thinking while so engaged.

Shipbuilding was at that time the principal mechanical industry of that vicinity as well as of most of the seaboard of New England. William learned the shipbuilding trade which led him to Boston, where he married a widow of considerable means and much above his own social station. He there learned to read and write a little, and

promised his wife he would "sometime command a King's ship and possess "a fair brick house on Green Lane," the then expensive place of residence of the aristocracy of Boston. He kept his word in both respects. He had heard of a Spanish galleon sunk somewhere among the West India Islands half a century before, and conceived the project of recovering its treasure.

Of his first expedition with that end in view little is known except that he probably sailed from Boston in a small vessel which he owned and commanded. This search was unsuccessful. In the hope of obtaining funds for further search Phips sailed for England. Arriving in London in 1683 in some way he induced Charles II to fit him out with an Algerian prize frigate of twenty guns, named the *Rose*, in return for one-quarter of all profits, besides the usual royal rake-off on treasure-trove. Picking up a crew of cutthroats who found their own provisions and were to serve without wages in return for a share of the expected treasure, Phips in September, 1683, sailed from London for Boston, where, after interesting adventures and taking on crude diving apparatus, he again sailed for the West Indies. This expedition was also a failure, but in it Phips proved himself to be a man of great strength, courage, and ability in quelling two mutinies, one single-handed with his naked fists, the other by quick action in turning all his guns on the mutineers while they were on shore. The choice left them was to starve on a small uninhabited island or to surrender their arms before being taken on board.

The *Rose*, leaking badly, was unseaworthy. This left Phips no choice except again to sail for England. To anyone less determined this second failure would seem to have put an end to this particular adventure, since the "Merry Monarch," Charles II, had died shortly before his return, and James II at first refused to become interested. Phips then appealed to the Duke of Albemarle, who helped him organize a small Stock Company and to obtain a royal patent giving the Company the exclusive right to all wrecks discovered within fifteen years. This enabled Phips to charter and fit out the ships *James* and *Mary*, with which, as by a miracle, he found the treasure so long sought on a reef called "Ambrosia Bank," some leagues north from Porto Plato Harbor on the Island of Haiti.¹

With his cargo of silver and a crew constantly on the verge of mutiny Phips sailed for England which, by another seeming miracle, he reached in safety. Cotton Mather writes that the treasure-trove was valued at £300,000—doubtless much exaggerated. Phips's mod-

est share after the rake-off by the King, and the strict fulfilment of his promises to his mutinous crew, was about £16,000—an ample fortune as fortunes rated in New England at that time; moreover, being knighted by James, he forthwith became Sir William Phips—an honor which probably aided his further advancement as much as his increased fortune in silver or gold.

That Phips was a competent navigator may be gathered from the fact that while knocking about for three voyages among the innumerable uncharted rocks, reefs, and shoals of the West India Islands he never lost a vessel. The crude instruments used in determining his latitude were little if any better than those of the time of Columbus. Of his longitude he knew nothing except by guess. This continued to be so with practically all navigators until reliable chronometers came into common use about 1830. They were then made as good as now. The chronometer is the only mechanism that has not been improved in the last one hundred years.

That so few of the early navigators lost their vessels on unknown shores may be ascribed to fear of the fatal consequences of any neglect. They anchored in sheltered places at night or stood off and on in deep water with frequent use of the lead when no shelter was available. The same in times of fog. When approaching shore they shortened sail to move very slowly, kept men at the masthead, whence shoal water is readily discernible, and, most important of all, sent small boats ahead to take frequent soundings.

Not fully satisfied with having been knighted, Phips applied for and received a patent constituting him provost-marshal-general of the Dominion of New England. Notwithstanding this high office certain serious obstacles stood in his way. He was not a member of the Orthodox Church and until becoming such could not be a freeman entitled to vote or hold any office. Accustomed to overcoming difficulties, Phips found it easy to surmount this; he had only to make a confession of the faith and be baptized. Doubtless with equal facility he would have become a disciple of Satan had this been required. He was thereupon immediately made a freeman by the General Court, which also made him a major-general to command the projected expedition against Acadia, in which his usual luck accompanied him. Unprepared for a siege, Port Royal surrendered, and with it all of Acadia. A substantial quantity of loot, with questionable honesty, was brought home by the expedition.

Frequent cruel invasions by the Indians, always incited by the

French, had so exasperated the English colonists that, encouraged by the easy victory at Port Royal, they now determined to strike at the source of their troubles—the citadel on the rocky promontory at Quebec. A fleet consisting of thirty-two trading and fishing vessels was impressed. The largest ship called *Six Friends* carried forty-two guns. About twenty-two hundred men, including sailors, some volunteers, others impressed, were assembled on board. All were promised a share of the expected plunder. Phips was in command. Without competent pilots, sufficient ammunition, food or supplies, this Yankee Armada sailed from Nantasket on August 9th, 1690, too late in the season for slow, small sailing vessels to reach the St. Lawrence before the autumnal storms and fogs beset its shores. Hard luck attended the expedition from start to finish.

The full story of unnecessary delays, mismanagement, wrecks, disease and other heartbreaking misfortunes is told in the piquant and unforgettable language of Francis Parkman in his volume entitled *Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.* The earliest vessels to return reached Boston four months after they had set sail; others, blown offshore, arrived six or eight weeks later; several never came back at all. The number of the survivors has not been recorded.²

What, it may be asked, had these various adventures of a soldier and sailor of fortune to do with the names of sundry townships in northern New England? It may be replied that, however seemingly unrelated, without them there would have been no "Canada" townships south of the Canadian line.

On the return of the survivors of this Quebec Expedition of 1690, Massachusetts was bankrupt. To pay them it issued paper currency, the first to be issued by any government in modern times.³ This Massachusetts currency, although receivable for taxes and promised to be redeemed, rapidly depreciated and in a few years had little value. The recipients clamored for relief.

For many years prior to this time the boundary between Massachusetts and New Hampshire was the subject of acrimonious controversy. Massachusetts claimed that in 1629 it had been fixed by the original Massachusetts charter at three miles north of the Merrimac from its mouth to its source. This river was then believed to flow from west to east throughout its course.

In 1652, Governor Endicott sent four men in a boat up the river to determine its course and source. They reported the great bend to the north near Pawtucket Falls, now Lowell, and that its source was

at the outlet of a large lake where on a boulder they had cut the Governor's name. This boulder, known as Endicott Rock, is at a place now called the "Wiers" at the outlet of Lake Winnepesaukee.

Massachusetts thereafter claimed all the land that was south of Lat. $43^{\circ} 39'$, three miles north of Endicott Rock. This preposterous claim if sustained, would have deprived New Hampshire of nearly one-third of its present area, including its largest city, Manchester, and would have deprived Vermont of all the territory lying south of an east and west line running through White River Junction and including the city of Rutland. This claim aroused such vigorous opposition conducted by John Thomlinson, the efficient agent of New Hampshire in London, that about 1735 Massachusetts felt the necessity of doing something to strengthen her claim. It then occurred to some frugal-minded statesman that this could be done without cost and with possible profit, by granting townships in the ungranted wilderness and that at the same time, among numerous other claims, those of the Quebec Expedition could be satisfied.

The Quebec Claims were accordingly settled by the grant of various townships six miles square to which, in most instances, the name of Canada was attached for identification. Such grants were made on petitions of the "Survivors or Descendants of the Canada Expedition of 1690 under the late Sir William Phips" reciting their sufferings at that time and praying for a grant of land for a township. A committee was appointed to select the location, fix the boundaries and to lay out the town "into sixty-three equal parts one for the Minister, one for the Ministry, one for the School and one for each of the Petitioners," on condition that each "build a house on his lot Eighteen feet Square and Seven feet Stud at the least and plow and bring to English grass fit for Mowing Six Acres of Land"; the grantee to give bond for the fulfilment of these conditions within five years. The bonds were usually made for the sum of £20 payable to the Province Treasurer with the provision that on failure of performance the grantee should forfeit his title. The grantees were further obligated to build a Meeting House for public worship.

The town boundaries fixed by the Committees, or the surveyors and chainmen employed, were not easy to find or follow, for example "Beginning at a pillar of Stones . . . thence running East Six miles partly on a Town Ship Lately Laid out and partly on Province Land—to a Hemlock tree marked with J. S. from thence Running North Six miles & fifty Six Perches to a maple tree marked with J. S.

. . . and there is allowed about one Rod in thirty for uneven land and Swag [sag] of Chain."⁴

One may see, as through a glass darkly, the bewildered grantees wandering in the forests, floundering through swamps, wet, cold, hungry, and well-nigh discouraged in the search for their promised land. It is not surprising to find that instructions to surveyors invariably provided that boundaries should not interfere with any former grants, thus, in case of mistakes, saving the face of the committees in charge, nor is it surprising to find that they did frequently so interfere.

Eleven charters were granted for "Canada" townships in 1735-1736 and about the same time charters for twenty-five or thirty more townships to the survivors of various Indian wars; many additional charters were granted for no reason mentioned but intended to strengthen Massachusetts' claims.

Notwithstanding all efforts to sustain Massachusetts' title, the King in Council in 1740, chiefly through the assiduous endeavors of Thomson, fixed the New Hampshire boundary, including the Hampshire Grants, substantially as it exists to-day.

The charters of the "Canada" townships that had been granted by Massachusetts north of that boundary were:

Salem-Canada, now Lyndeborough, granted to the men of Salem in 1735.⁵

Beverly-Canada, now Weare, granted to the men of Beverly in 1735.⁶

Rowley-Canada, now Rindge, granted to the men of Rowley in 1736-1737.⁷

Sylvester-Canada, now Richmond, granted in 1735 to the men who served under Capt. Joseph Sylvester.⁸

Gallop-Canada, now Guilford, Vermont, granted on the petition of Samuel Gallop and others in 1735.⁹

Gorhamtown, now Dunbarton, granted in 1735 to the men of Salem and Marblehead who served under Capt. John Gorham.¹⁰

New Boston, granted in 1735-1736 to the men of Boston, who served under Capt. Nathaniel Bowman.¹¹

Bakerstown, now Salisbury, granted in 1736-1737 to the men who served under Capt. John March, Capt. Stephen Greenleaf, and Capt. Philip Nelson.¹²

While to none of the charters for the three last-mentioned townships was the name Canada attached, yet they were ordinarily known

as Canada townships and in the petitions for the grants the petitioners were described as "in the Public Service Anno 1690 in the Expedition against Canada under the command of the late Sir William Phipps, Knt."

Three of the "Canada" townships south of the new boundary were:

Dorchester-Canada, now Ashburnham, granted on the petition of Thomas Tileston and others in 1735.¹⁸

Ipswich-Canada, now Winchendon, granted on the petition of Abraham Tilton and others in 1735.¹⁴

Roxbury-Canada, now Warwick, granted to Samuel Newell and others in 1735.¹⁵

In all of these three last-mentioned charters and in that for Gallop-Canada, it was provided that "preference is to be given to the Petitioners and such as were Descendants of Officers and Soulders who served in the Expedition to Canada in the year 1690."¹⁸

The names of all the townships of which the word Canada formed a part were changed during the eighteenth century. In 1761, according to the reliable Blanchard and Langdon map, Salem-Canada was the only one in New Hampshire that remained the same. It is to be regretted that no name remains to remind us of the romantic career of Sir William Phips and his Canada Expedition of 1690.

Before Canada passed into the possession of the English in 1760 few, if any, of the Canada townships were permanently settled by the soldiers of the Quebec Expedition or their descendants. Massacres by the Indians in their frequent raids from Canada discouraged settlements except in the few places protected by stockade forts. Within two months in 1746 Fort Number Four at Charlestown on the Connecticut, was attacked by Indians five times, and it appears by a petition made to the Massachusetts authorities in September, 1755, that it had been attacked ten times in the preceding two years. It was asserted that New Hampshire had refused assistance and that an increased number of soldiers at the Fort was necessary for the protection of the Massachusetts towns below the new boundary.¹⁷

The Blanchard and Langdon map was the first to give the names and locations of the then existing New Hampshire townships between the New York boundary and Lake Champlain on the west and that of Maine and the ocean on the east. Eighty of these are shown east of the Connecticut River and fifteen west of it, among which are Rockingham, better known as Bellows Falls, Westminster, Pultney,

Brattleborough, Guilford, and Bennington. This map contains much information of historic interest to Vermonters; e.g., along the French River, now called Winooski, and Welds [Wells] River it is stated "This way Captives have been carried from New Hampshire to Canada." Black River is shown with the words, "This way Captives have been carried by the Indians." The Old Crown Point Road is outlined with the statement that "This road was cut by the New Hampshire Forces employed against Canada in 1759 in order to facilitate the communication with that country." Between White River Falls and Wells River, meadows are indicated and marked "Little Cohass Intervals," and the Fifteen Mile Falls, recently hydro-electrically developed, are marked "Great Intervals, called Cohass or Cowas, five miles wide in some Places."

Thomas Jeffreys's map of New Hampshire, including the territory now Vermont, and a part of Massachusetts, published in London in 1774 shows ten "Canada" townships, but all their names have been changed by him from Canada-Salem, Canada-Gallop, Canada-Roxbury, etc., to Canada to Salem, Canada to Gallop, Canada to Roxbury, etc. This Jeffreys nomenclature seems misleading, for certainly it was not the then French province of Canada but the English province of Massachusetts that made the grants of these uninhabited lands. Perhaps it was due to the ignorance of Jeffreys, who, knowing nothing of the Massachusetts grants to the soldiers who had fought at Quebec, thought the grants were made by the province of Canada. We find many other errors in names and boundaries on this map, for unlike Blanchard, who lived in Dunstable, now Nashua, and had personally surveyed many of the townships, Jeffreys's information was only secondhand, he never having crossed the ocean.

Not only were the boundaries of the "Canada" townships uncertain but those of all the others in southwestern New Hampshire were complicated to a degree unparalleled elsewhere in the United States. The Massachusetts grants made when that province claimed the territory, the Masonian Proprietors' grants and sales with the resultant litigation,¹⁸ the several surveys of the Great Mason Curve, the New Hampshire provincial grants, forfeitures, renewals, regrants, and subsequent changes by state legislation have all contributed to these complications.

The township boundaries of Vermont are far less intricate, but not less interesting. It should be remembered that the territory now Vermont, although popularly known as the Hampshire Grants, be-

longed to New Hampshire until 1764, when by the King in Council it was annexed to New York.

Many of the township boundaries west of the Connecticut River, as well as east of it, bear a definite relation to the Great Mason Curve¹⁹ in that their northerly and southerly boundaries are approximately radial to this curve, and their easterly and westerly boundaries concentric with it.

To explain the reason for this would take us back to the grant to the Council of Plymouth made by James I on November 3, 1620, when the *Mayflower* was buffeting her way into the Gulf of Maine, a few days before she sighted land at Cape Cod; and even back to 1614 when Capt. John Smith of Pocahontas fame, leaving his ship in Monhegan Harbor, in an open boat explored and mapped the New England coast as far south as the elbow of Cape Cod. Smith gave us the name New England; also the names of several townships, rivers, and capes along the coast.²⁰

In the winter of 1760, to come down to more recent times, four or five men might have been seen tramping up the frozen Connecticut, two of them dragging a chain and sticking iron pins in the snow at measured intervals, the others hauling a sled loaded with axes, guns, extra snowshoes, blankets, and provisions. They were Joseph Blanchard, Jr., and his assistants, who had first surveyed the Great Mason Curve in 1751. He was the son of Col. Joseph Blanchard, the best surveyor in New Hampshire and the maker of the map above described. Joseph, Jr., had been ordered by Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, to survey and fix the boundaries of the unnamed and unsettled townships on both sides of the river between Charlestown and Cohos, the latter now Haverhill and Newbury. Stakes or trees marked with numbers exactly opposite each other on the east and west banks indicated the corners of the townships planned to be six miles square.

If all other records of the Hampshire Grants had been destroyed, if all other knowledge of the former jurisdiction of New Hampshire over the territory now Vermont had been lost, the story would be saved, at least in part, by these still existing township boundary lines. A brief examination of the most recent map of the two states, showing the straight lines extending from New Hampshire into Vermont, would be sufficient to inform even a casual observer that no such continuity could possibly exist by mere coincidence. The boundaries south of Claremont and Weathersfield were, in many instances, origi-



A map showing certain township boundaries in western New Hampshire and eastern Vermont, and about one-third of the Great Mason Curve.

nally fixed by Massachusetts Grants, and there the lines are more irregular.

A careful study of early and now existing township boundaries in western New Hampshire and eastern Vermont would tell an interesting story of the past not found in any of the many histories of these old New England states.

NOTES

1. No bank or reef named Ambrosia can be found on modern charts. The nearest bank to Porto Plata Harbor is Silver Bank in a northeast direction. The recovery of so much silver by Phips probably caused the change of name.

2. Francis Bowen; "Sir William Phips," Jared Sparks; *American Biography*, Vol. VII, pp. 3-102. Viola F. Barnes, "The Rise of William Phips," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. I, pp. 271-294. This interesting essay was the result of much original research.

3. From about the ninth to the thirteenth century China had issued paper currency, but it became worthless and was abandoned three hundred years before Massachusetts made its first issue. It seems unlikely that anything about Chinese currency was known to the western world at this time. To be sure Marco Polo described it in the fourteenth century but his writings were unknown, except to a few scholars in Europe. Yule's *Book of Marco Polo*, Vol. I, 3d ed., pp. 423-426. The goldsmiths and private bankers of Florence, on deposit of silver and gold, had issued negotiable notes that passed from hand to hand in the Middle Ages, but these were not authorized by any government. The Bank of England issued paper currency at an early period, but it was not incorporated nor in existence until more than four years after the issue of the Massachusetts paper notes.

4. *N.H. State Papers*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 255-276. This is a part of the boundary of Sylvester-Canada, now Richmond.

5. *N.H. State Papers*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 172-177.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 339-345.

7. *Ibid.*; Ezra S. Stearns, *History of Rindge*, pp. 24-25.

8. *N.H. State Papers*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 272-281.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 789-791. No record has been found of any settlement of Gallop-Canada by the Massachusetts grantees. The same area was granted by Governor Benning Wentworth in 1754 to sixty grantees. *N.H. State Papers*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 200-206. It was first settled in 1761. Gallop families from Boston or the vicinity settled in Guilford before 1800. This being an unusual name it is a fair guess that they were descendants of the Samuel Gallop, who was a soldier of the Quebec Expedition of 1690.

10. *N.H. State Papers*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 78-82, 708-710.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 215-224.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 297-306.

13. In Ezra S. Stearns' *History of Ashburnham*, p. 43, Dorchester-Canada is

said to have retained its original name until 1765, when it was rechartered as Ashburnham.

14. Ezra Hyde, *History of Winchendon*, pp. 9-10.

15. Jonathan Blake, *History of Warwick*, p. 12.

16. For Massachusetts legislation respecting Dorchester-Canada, Ipswich-Canada, Roxbury-Canada and Gallop-Canada see *Mass. House Journal*, June 26, 1735; *Mass. Court Records*, June 27, 1735, March 23, 1736, March 27, 1736.

17. Francis Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, Vol. II, 5th ed., p. 237; H. H. Saunderson, *History of Charlestown, N.H.*, p. 70.

18. George B. Upham, "Early Town Boundaries in Western New Hampshire," *Granite Monthly*, Vol. LI, pp. 500-504. It should be noted that the Mason Proprietors could convey to the settlers only the soil. For political rights and the powers of government the grantees were obliged to resort to the Province, later the State, from which acts of incorporation were readily obtained when conditions of settlement had been fulfilled. In these acts the boundaries which had been fixed by the Proprietors were retained.

19. The great curve extending from the Massachusetts boundary to that of Maine with a radius of sixty miles inland from the mouth of the Merrimac was fixed by grants made by King James I; specifically, by the one made by the Council of Plymouth to John Mason in 1629. The controversies arising from it form many interesting chapters in the early history of New Hampshire.

20. George B. Upham, "New Hampshire Town Boundaries Determined by the Mason Curve," *Granite Monthly*, Vol. LII, pp. 19-27. "The Great River Naumkeek, Once the Southern Boundary of New Hampshire," *Granite Monthly*, Vol. LII, pp. 193-201. This story of the River Naumkeek was based on the discovery of an ancient manuscript map of about 1680 showing New Hampshire extending as far south as Salem, Massachusetts. This map had been photographed but not otherwise published until in the *Granite Monthly*.

EDITORIAL NOTES

A notable event for the Society this year was the presentation by Sinclair Lewis of his Nobel Prize Medal in Literature. Mr. Lewis wrote:

"It gives me pleasure to deposit the Nobel Prize Medal in Literature with you as a permanent loan, with the understanding that if I should not, by the time of my death, have withdrawn it, it should become the outright property of the society.

"I hope the gift may serve to indicate my affection for this, my adopted state."

The medal, itself a thing of beauty, has attracted wide attention from its great significance. Its award to Mr. Lewis was the first award of the prize in literature to an American. It recognizes specifically his great genius in depicting scenes of American life, and characters that are not only American but common to other countries as well. The numerous translations of his works into many languages, and the wide popularity they have enjoyed abroad, indicate the universal nature of his writings. But Mr. Lewis himself considers that the award is less a personal tribute than a striking European recognition that American letters have come of age, and are taking a high place among the great literatures of the world.

It is no small tribute to Vermont that Mr. Lewis has found here the atmosphere of peace and the native independence of spirit which led him to make Vermont his permanent home. The Vermont Historical Society is deeply grateful to him for placing in its custody, for the inspiration of the thousands of visitors who come to its rooms in Montpelier, the most widely known and highly prized token of literary success in the world, the most important recognition which has ever come to any American writer.



TWO MEMORIALS ERECTED

A memorial marker of granite and bronze, erected on Walloomsac Heights, New York, where the Battle of Bennington was fought,



THE
STATE OF VERMONT
PAYS GRATEFUL HOMAGE
TO THE MEMORY OF
THE PATRIOTS OF
BERKSHIRE COUNTY,
MASSACHUSETTS,
MANY OF THEM FROM
THIS IMMEDIATE VICINITY,
WHO FOUGHT FOR
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE
IN THE
BATTLE OF BENNINGTON
AUGUST 16, 1777

ERECTED ON BEHALF OF
THE STATE OF VERMONT

BY

THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MDCCCLXXXI

commemorating the valor and patriotism of the Vermonters who participated in the famous battle, was unveiled on Saturday, August 15, 1931. The memorial was erected by the Vermont Historical Society on behalf of the State of Vermont, in pursuance of a resolution passed at the last session of the Legislature. At the dedicatory ceremonies, which were presided over by the Hon. Frank L. Stevens, chairman of the Bennington Battlefield Park Commission of the State of New-York, President Spargo introduced Governor Stanley C. Wilson, who made the address of presentation. Massachusetts, New Hampshire and New York have also erected memorial markers on this battlefield.

On Saturday, October 10, 1931, President Spargo delivered the address of the day in connection with the formal presentation and unveiling of the Vermont memorial tablet in the Stafford Hill Memorial Tower, in Cheshire, Massachusetts. This tablet was secured and presented by the Vermont Historical Society, on behalf of the State of Vermont, under the authority of the resolution of the Legislature referred to above. William Bradford Browne, president of the Berkshire Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution, presided. The tablet pays the tribute of Vermont to the Berkshire County men who fought at Bennington. Massachusetts and New York had previously erected tablets there and New Hampshire is expected to do so. President Spargo's address received wide publicity.

It is interesting to note that although the Legislature made only a very small appropriation—seven hundred and fifty dollars in all—both the memorials referred to were purchased and set up for considerably less than the amount named, a substantial balance of the appropriation being left unused. The Vermont Historical Society does not squander State funds!



Vermont Episcopalians are making extensive plans for the celebration of the centennial anniversaries of the creation of the Diocese of Vermont and the consecration of Bishop Hopkins, their first bishop, both of which anniversaries occur in 1932. They will have the support and goodwill of their fellow citizens of every faith and creed. The history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Vermont is interwoven with the most interesting chapter in the early history of the State. It was largely for the purpose of maintaining the land grants

made by Governor Wentworth to the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that the first efforts to organize the Episcopalian church in Vermont were made. A history of the church might well be written which would elucidate one of the most important and vitally interesting phases of our history as a State. The life of Bishop Hopkins likewise is of extraordinary interest and should be better known. The biography by his son is too much given to filial laudation, and is pretty dull reading. It places too much emphasis upon doctrinal and canonical disputations which to our modern view seem trivial and futile. His really great services are inadequately perceived and even more inadequately told. He was a great figure. In many ways, he was the most versatile man the State has ever had. Among his many accomplishments—for he was theologian, lawyer, orator, poet, musician, painter, designer and architect—his architectural work was of a very high order. Some of the most beautiful buildings in the State today were designed by him.



THE ETHAN ALLEN STATUE IN MONTPELIER

The Mead statue of Ethan Allen which stands on the portico of the Capitol at Montpelier, and with which many thousands of people are familiar, is in serious need of expert attention. Made of soft Italian marble, it has been seriously damaged by erosion and injuries due to the ravages of our climate. With a view to undertaking some measures for the preservation of the statue, President Spargo asked the cooperation of the Vermont Marble Company, through Lieutenant Governor Benjamin Williams. Experts of the company made a careful examination and reported that the statue can be partly restored. For example, the upraised hand, which has lost several fingers and been clumsily patched with plaster, can be replaced by a new hand in such a manner as to be almost beyond detection. The nose can also be repaired. These things should be done and the whole statue expertly cleaned. It is doubtful whether much, if anything, can be done to restore the hat to its original shape, much of the lower edge having crumbled away. So much for what can be done in the way of restoration. The cost of this would be comparatively small. It should be done, of course. But when so repaired it should either be removed to some place indoors where it will be free from exposure to the weather, or else weather-proofed by some one of the several approved processes.

Removal to an indoor position would be excellent, if practicable. At first it was thought that, by eliminating one section of the pedestal upon which the statue stands, it might be placed in the lower corridor of the Capitol building. A rather careful study of the situation, however, seems to preclude that. It would almost certainly prove an intolerable and possibly dangerous obstruction. If the entire pedestal were discarded, the statue itself might be installed in the large reception hall adjoining the Governor's room. It would undoubtedly rather spoil the arrangement of the room. Removed from the pedestal, the statue might be placed in the anteroom of the Vermont Historical Society's room. Certainly, the statue ought to be restored and placed in safer surroundings, both on account of Ethan Allen and as an example of the work of a great Vermont sculptor. And it should be kept at Montpelier. The Capitol is the logical place for it, but if room cannot be found there, the next best thing should be done. Incidentally, if necessary it would be possible to have an exact replica made either in bronze or a more durable quality of Vermont marble and set up on the original pedestal. This could be placed either on the portico or on the Capitol grounds, the original statue being preserved as above suggested. The cost of a replica could be met by subscription; if the people who use the name of old Ethan for commercial purposes—for tea rooms, gift shops, and the like, would contribute small sums the cost would be nearly met! Certainly some action should be taken soon.



RECENT VERMONT BOOKS

This year has been unusually fruitful for books about Vermont. And most of these books are of a very high standard. They show that interest in Vermont, by Vermonters and by others, is steadily on the increase. In noticing some of these books, the editor is aware that there are others which also merit attention. It is hoped that they can be reviewed later.

The *Green Mountain Series* of four volumes, issued by the Stephen Daye Press of Brattleboro, for the Committee on Traditions and Ideals, a part of the Vermont Commission on Country Life, is one of the most notable contributions to Vermont literature which has ever appeared. It has been enthusiastically noticed by the press in Vermont and elsewhere, and has even become the source of a sharp literary

skirmish between Eda Lou Walton, writing in the *Nation*, and Sinclair Lewis, who took up the cudgels for Vermont with the zeal and vigor of our early writers of polemics, such as Ethan Allen and Stephen Rowe Bradley. Miss Walton thought that there were but few famous names in the book of biographies, aside from Calvin Coolidge, Robert Frost, and Ethan Allen. Mr. Lewis thought otherwise; and most Vermonters will not hesitate to agree with him. His sparkling letter has been reprinted as a broadside by the publisher of the *Series*.

The popular reception of the *Series* has surpassed expectation. At last accounts the edition was almost exhausted, despite this year of depression. A second edition is contemplated. The first edition should become a valuable item for Vermont collectors, as the merits of the series become more and more widely known.

It is interesting to note that in the *Book of Biographies*, Mr. Crockett, the editor of the volume, who wrote the lives of Ethan and Ira Allen and Thomas Chittenden, has taken, in all three biographies, exactly the opposite position, as regards the famous Haldimand Negotiations, to that taken by Mr. Wardner in his address before the Society, reprinted in the March number of the *Proceedings*. Mr. Crockett contends that the negotiations were carried on solely to deceive the British, while Mr. Wardner thinks that the purposes or real intentions of the Vermonters probably shifted with circumstances, and, according to the evidence as he sees it, the Vermont leaders, baffled by Congress and harassed by neighboring States, at times seriously considered that Vermont might be better off to return to British rule. The view taken by Mr. Crockett is that of most standard Vermont historians, and conforms to that feeling of intense loyalty for the United States which is customary now. Mr. Wardner seems to think that at a time when that national loyalty had not yet sprung into being, there was nothing reprehensible in the conduct of the Vermont leaders or in their purposes. It would be a pleasure to readers of the *Proceedings* if Mr. Crockett would examine in these pages the evidence which Mr. Wardner used—some of which was not available to the earlier Vermont historians, and demonstrate his views in detail. Instances such as this, in which scholars are not in accord, and where the available evidence falls far short of a complete knowledge of all the facts and the motives of a past transaction, furnish a ground for debate by scholars which is highly instructive for laymen.

To the editor, the *Vermont Prose Miscellany* is by far the best and

most interesting volume of the *Series*. It is fine prose. And it has in it, in all its pages, regardless of the particular subject matter, something of the spirit which is Vermont, something of the hills and the rocks and the winds that make, we like to think, Vermonters a different breed of men and women from the dwellers in tamer lands.

Vermont Verse: An Anthology has the merits and the weaknesses of most anthologies. It does give a very fair and general view of what its able editors consider the best, among the Vermont verse that can be put into reasonably small space. All the favorites of all the critics cannot be included. Possibly it is wrong to include with the old and tested verse of the ancients, so much of the writings of modern poets, of whom opinions may be changed. But the modern poets of Vermont are numerous and vigorous. They write well, and deserve recognition.

Vermont Folk-Songs and Ballads is in some respects the most startling volume of the group. It is an admirable collection of songs obtained by word of mouth, for the most part, by Mr. Brown and Mrs. Flanders. The word startling is used because it does startle one to find, listed as *Vermont Folk-Songs and Ballads*, songs which in many instances have a frankly foreign origin far remote from Vermont. And many of the songs for which a Vermont origin is claimed, seem to be traceable to distinct written sources, which at once removes them from the usual interpretation of the terms folk-songs and ballads, as spontaneous outgrowth of popular feeling, originated and transmitted solely by word of mouth. For example, there is the song named "Billy White," recorded in West Wardsboro from the singing of a woman from New Haven, Connecticut, who learned it there in 1885 from a family which had just migrated from Scotland. Or again, "Green Gravel," recorded from the singing of a woman who played the game and sang the song in Lincolnshire, England, as a child. "Stratton Mountain Tragedy" is clearly a version of the poem by Seba Smith printed in the Medina, Ohio, *Whig*, on the death of Mrs. Harrison G. Blake, in December, 1821. The most that can be said for some of these is that they have been sung in Vermont by someone from whom they have been recorded, and that in their character they are similar to the true folk-song or ballad. Such a record is valuable, because it does show what has been sung, and it is important to gather it, because the people who know such songs are fast disappearing. But aside from the fact that, in many instances, there is no written record of the fact of singing in Vermont of the particular

song, there seems to this untutored objector as much reason to call these *Vermont* songs as there would be to call "Yes, We Have No Bananas!" a Vermont song if we should record it from the lips of a Vermont youngster who had heard it on the radio.

The above comment is made because it seems to the editor a not unreasonable criticism of a collection which is labeled as something peculiarly of Vermont. It is not intended to disparage the excellent work of the painstaking and thorough editors, who have clearly done a worth-while task. It is good to have the old songs gathered in a readable volume, with the old tunes alongside, and it should help to perpetuate them. It would be good, when the next edition is issued, to include more of the tunes, when that is possible; to make in the tunes printed the corrections now placed on an errata sheet; and to add to the notes at the beginning of each song available data as to the origin of the song, or its nearest equivalent, as found in some of the standard collections on the subject. Also, if it is feasible, it might help to avoid the misunderstanding the writer of these notes has, if the introduction were to make it clear that many of the songs are not Vermont songs at all, but merely transplanted and sometimes slightly altered versions of songs known to the English-speaking peoples.

The *Series* as a whole is a fine contribution to Vermont letters. It is composed so that it is readable in subject matter, and printed with such skill as to make reading a pleasure. One may well expect that the series will survive as live reading matter, long after the facts and figures of *Rural Vermont* have become ancient history, of interest only to the historian.

Rural Vermont: A Program for the Future, by Two Hundred Vermonters, published by the Vermont Commission on Country Life, is, notwithstanding the prediction that it will some day be worn out, an outstanding contribution to the State and its people, the value of which is beyond any possibility of present estimation. If it becomes worn out in the future because its recommendations have been observed and a better Vermont has resulted, its compilers will be repaid in satisfaction for the great work they have done; and if its presentation of facts, and its often highly judicious recommendations are ignored by the people of Vermont and their legislators, the volume will become useless because the old Vermont will have sunk into oblivion, beyond all hope of revival. But it is unthinkable that the report will be ignored. A work of this sort is bound to come to the notice of the

leaders of Vermont life, even though it has been handicapped by an almost secret publication, without any serious attempt, other than the free publicity of newspaper reviews and editorial comments, to bring it to the man in the street or on the farm, and the woman in the home or in the factory. One newspaper has declared that the reading and digesting of this volume should be made one of the qualifications for all members of the legislature. A wise electorate will second that statement.

The book is not without its faults. Some of the reports are much better than others. Some lead to definite and practical recommendations, and some lead to mere pious hopes which seem almost notional. Some of the reports present so much detailed information that an interpretive digest seems almost necessary if they are to be absorbed by anything like the average individual; while others are interpretations of unpublished material, so sketchy that the critical individual is unable to accept them without a study of the basic data. At times, the praise without qualification of all present efforts and their makers, and of all the works of officialdom and the various religious sects, in an attempt to avoid anything controversial, or the stepping on anyone's toes, seems to rob the work of much of its critical value.

Some of the conclusions reached are slightly absurd. We find, for instance, the statement that the typical Vermont boy does not go to dances. On examination, we discover that the boys questioned were between the ages of nine and sixteen, with most of them between eleven and fourteen. Of course these children do not show an average dance attendance. The statement as to the typical boy is too broad. And the study was limited to too narrow a field, if it is intended to show the activities of boys, and girls, of all ages up to majority.

Has anyone made an estimate of what it would cost to put into effect all the recommendations of the Commission? That would be interesting. And so would be the question whether the gain would be worth the cost. In some instances, notably schools, recreation, the care of the defective and indigent, etc., the increase in public servants and in governmental machinery would be enormous. Taxes and more taxes would be needed to operate such developments, and the burden is already thought by most people to be heavy.

The suggestion for a Vermont Foundation, capable of receiving gifts and bequests to be devoted to specific purposes in connection with the work outlined, may solve the problem of much of the expense, and

provide a method of carrying on improvements other than by the agency of government.

One factor in the rural situation, which was not discussed, is the way in which early settlement was made. People bought land they had not seen, tracts spread all over the surfaces of townships six miles square. To be sure, they were often shown pretty little maps with town lots in the center which would make reasonably well-planned villages. But with the lack of roads, and the total failure to adapt these ideal plans to the rugged topography of the townships, the plans were thrown overboard in most cases, and individuals with their large families settled on the lands they had bought, if there was any prospect of making a living out of the soil. Many of these were so isolated that they have been abandoned. And many more, still terribly isolated, continue to be tilled. The advantages of community life, for schools, for recreation, for medical attention, and otherwise, cannot be had for such isolated homes, even though improved roads and means of transportation have lessened some of the hardships. One is inclined to compare this situation with the more fortunate lot of those who live in the villages of Vermont, and the rural villages of such countries as France, where the isolated farmhouse is practically unknown. The tendency in Vermont will be to concentrate the rural population in villages, and overcome the errors of the past, leaving the isolated homes for the summer residents who prefer to spend a part of the year away from their fellows who crowd them so closely in the cities. There is an opportunity here for the newly developed art of planning villages as well as cities, to make them better places to live in.

Some of the most interesting recommendations are those for changes in our political structure. The idea of returning to the system of a single chamber in our legislature, that chamber to be composed of about fifty members chosen from towns or groups of contiguous towns arranged so that each member will represent a constituency equal in population, has been considered in other States. A study of the system as it operated in Vermont for about fifty years, indicates that better results were obtained, and that none of the arguments for changing to two chambers have been borne out in practice. Now we have one house that is representative, roughly, of population, and another that is representative of nothing but acreage, one town of six inhabitants having the same voice as a city with nearly twenty-five thousand, and a distinct majority of that house representing a distinct minority of the people of the State. The system proposed should produce greater

efficiency, greater responsibility, and better legislators. And the control of the legislature would still be in the hands of the rural population. The proposal for a change in the direct primary system, to increase party responsibility, leaving the primary as a special remedy to correct a flagrant abuse of convention nomination, is interesting, and worth further study. The proposal to make sheriffs and prosecuting attorneys appointive would concentrate power in the governor, and deprive the counties of the power they now have to have the administration of the law as they want it, and to nullify law if they choose.

The study of the people of Vermont shows the great changes that have come in the distribution of population, and the changes in racial stock. The discussion of topography and soil should be helpful, and provoke more complete investigation; the section on agriculture ought to guide many a farmer to more efficient methods and greater gain from his labor. The chapter on forestry recommends further purchase of State forests, a development we should much prefer to Federal forests. In this connection, it might be added that the withdrawal in perpetuity of a very large portion of the State's surface from opportunity for private development, is a questionable performance. Times and conditions change, and even the most ardent forester cannot foresee all the future. In the sections on land utilization and rural home and community life, there is a vivid picture of conditions which most of us do not distinctly realize. The poverty of recreation facilities for rural children shows much to be desired, to be attained, we hope by local effort. Medical and educational facilities are ably discussed, and valuable recommendations are made. The Brattleboro plan of medical insurance is especially worthy of examination. The problem of the handicapped is brought home to us in all its tragedy, with proposals which demand consideration. Proposals for some changes in rural governments, with larger districts for certain purposes, are stimulating, and likely to produce good results. In the recommendations for citizenship, the idea of better instruction in "civics" is a good one; but it is doubtful if teachers who are burdened with all the varieties of instruction can readily be made masters or mistresses of the science of government. Perhaps if the teachers were to "shovel out the facts," and more expert instructors were to journey about the State, giving lively lectures on the problems of government and the relation of government to the individual, better results would follow. The proposed restriction of suffrage to the

more intelligent, and specifically to those who have gone through at least six years of schooling with a certain standard, is interesting. But one of the miracles of our form of government is the discrimination shown by the voters, as a general rule; and another miracle is the way in which formal tests of school ability, and the like, seem to have little or nothing to do with real intelligence. The discussion of our religious background and some modern developments is thoughtful and unusually sound. Unfortunately the histories of some of the more important Protestant churches are not included. Of the things of the mind, the Committee on traditions and ideals treats well.

It would be a pleasure to discuss all the sections of this book at greater length, but we hope enough has been said to convince any of our readers who have not read the volume, that it is essential for them as intelligent citizens, to read it carefully, and critically. We wish it were possible to make every citizen of the State aware of its contents, and know that if this were possible, the State would be greatly the better for it.

Mrs. Clara E. Wagemann has done a service to Vermont and to New England in her book on the *Covered Bridges of New England*, published by the Tuttle Company. Our covered bridges are fast disappearing, thanks to the heavier traffic of modern times, and the impetuosity of the flood. They have been for a very long time an important feature of our countryside, with a romantic and a practical side, and we are sorry to see them go. It is to be hoped that some of them will remain, as long as they can be useful. And some of them, at least, deserve preservation as relics of a bygone age. They were not built for beauty; but beauty some of them acquired as the boards turned silver-grey, and the foliage crept up around them. Most of the bridges described and pictured in Mrs. Wagemann's book are in Vermont. There are descriptions and accounts of the building of some fifty bridges, with interesting illustrations. It is to be regretted that in some of these illustrations the type from the other side of the page shows through. Sometimes a fondness for romance has led Mrs. Wagemann to include matter which is obviously unsound. For example, she recounts a verse about the use of the "Old '76" bridge in Rutland, by soldiers of the Revolution, in 1776, while her own account (and the town records) shows that the road and the bridge were built in 1876. And the bridge in question was never on the Billings farm. There are other instances of slight inaccuracy,

but they do not affect seriously the excellent character of the book. It tells the story of the old bridges, and pictures them. It will be available when the bridges themselves, or most of them, are gone.

Along the same lines, and a little later in date, is the book called *Covered Bridges in America*, by Rosalie Wells, published by W. E. Rudge, in New York. It shows that covered bridges are or were to be found in twenty-five States, including Georgia, California, Wisconsin, and, of course, New England. There are 135 illustrations. Not so peculiarly a Vermont book, it includes Vermont bridges, and adds to the lore of the subject. It seems to the writer an oversight on the part of both authors that no detailed attention is paid to the interesting structure of the bridges. A fundamental point about most if not all such bridges is not so much the covering, the latticed or arched construction of the sides, which formed the main strength of the span, but the rockers, placed on the abutments, which permitted the bridge to give to the strains and stresses which were put upon it. A simple diagram, and a brief explanation, would have shown how this homely device has made these bridges stand up under conditions which would have wrecked a rigid bridge, in short order. There seems to have been some confusion, too, about the windows, or openings on the sides of the bridges. Some of these may have been there originally, but local experience makes it clear that in most cases the bridges were entirely boarded up on the sides, and that modern necessity of seeing fast approaching traffic around the corners, or the desire on the part of some light-fingered persons to get seasoned boards without expense, has been responsible for denuding the sides.

It would be impossible to write of current Vermont books without giving at least a short notice to Walter Hard's *Salt of Vermont*, published by the Stephen Daye Press. To begin with, it is a charming piece of bookmaking, with its green calico cover, its old woodcut of the poet's lyre and the plough, and its cleancut typography. The book itself would be attractive to the reader or the listener—it's made to be read aloud—even if its physical makeup were not exciting. There is real poetry in it, not in all of it, perhaps, but here and there. And able free verse, all the way through. Poetry has sometimes been defined as the most compact form of human expression. Here we have it. Walter Hard is as sparing of his words as Calvin Coolidge has been said to be. Each word counts. His poems are brief. Each one tells a story. And that story is often the whole life of an individual

who is just as much alive in his pages as the models we all have seen and known in real Vermont life.

Perhaps the finest of his verses is that entitled "A Mountain Pioneer." It is the story of an abandoned house, full of beauty, and pathos, with the thoughtful reflection of a poetic mind, crammed into twenty-one lines which tell, or hint at, all the story of the house and its inhabitants, and what has become of them and it. This one is not salt, but pure essence. There is salt, however, in "Hospitality," the yarn of a cautious, calculating man, who counts up and records his entertainment of guests, summarizing with:

"Well, I figger we give away durin' the year
Sixteen meals o' vittels . . .
But we got fourteen of 'em back."

The Shopkeeper dies; and various people remember various things about him, but the small boy remembers fourteen letters sent by mail, all neatly printed, when he had to stay in bed two weeks with the measles. And so on. There are no two alike, but all breathe Vermont air, and most have a saline flavor that Vermonters enjoy. The drug-store philosopher of Manchester has done well with this, and should do more. And if there were a benevolent dictator in Vermont, he would order that country-store philosopher in Proctorsville, Park Pollard, to abandon hopeless causes and write poetry too.



AMBITIONS

After so much review of books which tell the story of Vermont in one way or another, the editor would be lacking in his duty to the Vermont Historical Society if he did not say something about the books which the Society hopes to publish. Some time ago, we mentioned the possibility of publishing the Vermont Census of 1800, which gives, for each town, the names of the heads of families, and the number of males and females, in certain age groups, in each family—an invaluable historical and genealogical record, of which the original is decidedly tattered, and the only photostat copies so thumbled as to be on the verge of dissolution. This is practically ready for publication, thanks to the valuable work done by Richard Kent, and supervised by Dorman B. E. Kent, in typing and sorting the names of the thousands of persons, who are thus definitely located in their respective towns. The Society has at present no funds with

which to engage in a publication of this sort. An appeal for subscriptions was made, and about a dozen received—by no means enough to warrant publication at this time. One subscriber wrote that he considered this the most important work undertaken or proposed by the Society in his memory. So, for the present, this publication is held up, in hope that funds will eventually be available for the work.

There are many other excellent manuscripts which are available for publication by the Society, as soon as funds for this purpose are obtained. Among these is a detailed study of Vermont folk-songs and ballads in Franklin County, prepared by a student of music in the University of Iowa, a native of Vermont, who has prepared a record which experts pronounce decidedly worthy of preservation, and of great interest to students of folk-songs and folk-music.

There is a paper which was the basis of the report of the Commission on Country Life, as to a unicameral legislature, a thorough and detailed study of the single chambered legislature in its last ten years, and the two chambered legislature in its first ten years, and comparisons with the New Hampshire legislature. Vermont was the only State in the Union to retain for long a single chambered legislature. This study is of interest all over the United States and elsewhere, to show what a single chambered legislature can do. In general, people have gone on the assumption that because England happened to have a House of Lords and a House of Commons, and because the United States has a Senate which represents the States as entities and a House of Representatives which represents the population, a two chambered legislature, for no other reason than imitation, was a necessity. This paper shows that in Vermont a single chamber was able to pass better laws requiring fewer amendments, was able to keep expenses lower, had a more active and able type of legislators, and by every available test produced better results than the succeeding two chamber type. It deserves publication.

There is at least one town history which has been made ready to print. No activity of the Society is better worth while than a good town history, well prepared, and preserving and making known facts and documents which are all too easily lost.

Another volume we should like to issue is one which describes and analyzes the religion of Ethan Allen. This religion, for it was a real religion and not atheism, has never been well presented to the modern age, except, and there rather briefly, in *Rural Vermont*. At the time

of Ethan Allen, religious leaders were inclined to scoff at his ideas, and to minimize their importance. Now, the Committee on Religious Forces recognizes that his ideas account in large measure for the fact that Vermont has a lower church membership than the average in the United States, although this fact is not accompanied by a lower morality, particularly among the older Vermont stock. What Ethan Allen's ideas were, where they came from, and other matters which throw a light on the character of this notable leader, are contained in this manuscript on the editor's desk.

An account of the early Academies of Vermont, forerunners of our modern high schools, which latter have never been able to equal their high standard of scholarship, is the subject of still another document which we have an opportunity to publish, if funds should be available. It is a careful study of practically all the important academies which once flourished in many Vermont towns, with a wealth of material giving details of life in those towns, not available in any other form. This, by the way, was accepted by Yale University, as a Thesis for a degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Education.

Rowland Robinson and his writings are the subject of another paper in the editor's hands. Robinson depicted Vermont life, Vermont speech, and Vermont spirit as no other writer has ever done. His work is important as a record, and important as literature. The characters he portrays are shown to be real characters of real life, somewhat disguised, but attachable to definite localities. His interesting life, that of a man who became blind, and turned his knowledge of Vermont character into a means of livelihood, as well as a means of entertainment to others, is fascinating. And the bibliography of his writings is a record well worth while for the collector of Vermontiana.

These are some of the things which the Vermont Historical Society could and would publish if it had the money to do it with. We hope that the Wilbur bequest will soon become available, and that it will help us to make a start. Every one of these should pay for itself, and more. The Society does not intend to become a charitable institution to print things which can find no publisher elsewhere. And yet, some of these books would undoubtedly be slow to pay. We could wait. It will be a service to Vermont and a real justification of the Society's existence, to publish such works, even though they do not bring in the large returns which a commercial publisher would demand. If things should go well, the proceeds of bringing out one book should go a long way toward bringing out another, and from occasional profits

it should be possible to create a fund for publishing records and other material from which no profit could reasonably be expected, but which it is highly important to preserve and make available.



An explanation is due to our members for the tardiness of this issue, which should have appeared in September. It was found necessary to arrange for a new contract for the printing. After much negotiation, and bids from many of Vermont's best printers and some excellent printers outside the State, the contract was awarded to E. L. Hildreth & Company of Brattleboro.

We are sorry to lose this pleasant contact with the Tuttle Company, which has lasted for a year and a half. And we are glad that the new printers, famous as the printers for the Yale University Press, give promise of most excellent workmanship. The State Auditor, Benjamin Gates, and the State Purchasing Agent, James A. Stacey, have given much attention to our problems, and the best possible co-operation. We hope that in the future our issues may appear more promptly.



THE YORKTOWN SESQUICENTENNIAL

The editor was very fortunate in receiving an appointment from the Governor to attend the Yorktown Sesquicentennial Celebration, as one of the Commissioners from the State of Vermont. The Vermont delegation, consisting of the Governor and Mrs. Wilson, Adjutant General Johnson, Luther Johnson of Randolph, and the editor, met at White River Junction, and went by train to Cape Charles, Virginia, and thence by boat to Old Point Comfort, where they were assigned rooms in the Chamberlin Hotel, some twenty-five or thirty miles from the celebration area. The Governor was met at the pier by Lieutenant Marvin Walton of Danville, Virginia, assigned to him as military aide by the State of Virginia, and escorted to the hotel.

On Friday, October 16th, the Governors of the thirteen original States were presented at the celebration area by the Governor of Virginia. At noon, Marshal Petain, the chief of the delegation representing the French government, was presented, and received with great enthusiasm. With him, throughout the celebration, was his former associate in arms, General Pershing. After an official luncheon, there were addresses, notably by John Stewart Bryan of Richmond, Vice-President of the Yorktown Sesquicentennial Association,

a speaker who had the rare ability of combining historical scholarship with a witty and easy presentation. The pageant which followed was interesting, but prolonged. The Vermont delegation then returned to Old Point Comfort.

On Saturday, the Vermont delegation went to Yorktown, and visited the battleship *Wyoming*, one of the forty-odd vessels of the Navy anchored in the river. After inspecting the vessel, one of those whose teeth had been drawn, under the terms of the Washington conference, so that the armor had been removed, and the after batteries dismantled, we met the Captain, Dutton, a son of Vermont, who took great interest in seeing the Governor. Captain Dutton rescued the submarine *Nautilus* in mid-ocean, during a terrific storm, last summer, and gave a vivid account of the affair. Returning to the celebration area, we heard the addresses of General Pershing and Marshal Petain, and then went to the official luncheon. Afterward, there were addresses by Charles Francis Adams, Secretary of the Navy, and Admiral Cluverius. The latter presented an account of the Battle of Yorktown from a naval standpoint, showing how the French Admiral, de Grasse, had, by his victory over the English fleet, made possible the victory won by Washington and Rochambeau. Throughout the celebration, emphasis was laid on the fact that the victory, which was the climax of the Revolution, was not won by the Americans alone, but by the well-planned cooperation of the French and Americans. While the Americans had about nine thousand troops on the field of battle, and the French about seven thousand, the large French fleet, which, after its battle with the British, formed a blockade across the York River, had a larger personnel than either land force, and did effective cannonading during the siege. The editor recalls the shock of seeing, at Versailles, after studying American histories which recounted Yorktown as a purely American victory, the painting of Yorktown as a French and American victory, which it really was.

After the addresses, there were spectacular drills by units of the regular army. The silent drill by the third battalion of the 12th U.S. Infantry was a joy to behold. Countless manoeuvres, extremely complicated, were performed in succession, without a single word of command, with absolute precision. The sheik drill of the cavalry was unusual and entertaining. And the drill of Battery A, of the 16th Field Artillery was full of thrills, especially for anyone who knows the difficulties of artillery manoeuvres.

These drills were followed by a pageant which depicted the scenes preliminary to the Battle of Yorktown, and the battle itself. The faithfully reproduced uniforms, weapons, and methods of marching, carried out by troops of the regular army, made a brilliant and colorful scene never to be forgotten. Puffs of smoke, becoming clouds of smoke as the musketry fire increased, obscuring at times the orderly rows of soldiers in their brilliant whites and reds and blues, brought to life the battle scenes of old pictures, which now seem impossible and incredible to us.

On Sunday, there were religious ceremonies, and an opportunity for those who had transportation to visit the ancient capital of Virginia, Williamsburg, now being restored to its original beauty, and Jamestown, the first English settlement to endure on this continent. In the evening, the President came ashore from the battleship *Arkansas*, at Old Point Comfort, to deliver a radio address from Fort Monroe. Later, a reception was given on board the French battleships at Yorktown, the cruisers *Duquesne* and *Suffren*, which the editor was fortunate enough to attend. The two ships were anchored together, and connected with gang planks. Awnings, bunting, and colored lights made the after decks delightful for dancing, for which music was provided by the combined French bands, and the United States Marine Band. Marshal Petain, General Pershing, Secretary of the Navy, Adm. Lamoignon, General Chambrun, descendant of Lafayette, Major de La Motte de Laval, representing the 18th French Infantry Regiment whose regimental flag bears the word Yorktown to commemorate its service there, Major Rochambeau, great grandson by adoption of the Marshal, Count de Rochambeau, Captain de Beauvillé, descendant of Vice-Admiral the Count de Grasse, who commanded the French fleet at the naval engagement which made the Battle of Yorktown possible, the Marquis de Grasse, the Marquis de Rochambeau, the Marquis de Chambrun, the Duc de Broglie, and the Duc de Noailles, and other high dignitaries of the French and American governments, were present. The French were delightful hosts, and provided entertainment which the American guests seemed thoroughly to enjoy.

Monday, October 19th, was the great day of the celebration. It began with the firing of the presidential salute by all the naval vessels at Yorktown. The President delivered a brief address. After the official luncheon, there took place the pageant of the Surrender of the British Forces. Thousands of troops took part in this scene, although the numbers fell far short of the numbers of men in the victorious and

vanquished armies in 1781. But it was the most excellent representation of an historical event of great magnitude it has ever been our good fortune to observe. First the French troops, in their bright uniforms, some of them all white except for a dash of pale violet on the coats, tails, marched around the vast field in company front formation, with regimental colors, and the old French flag with the lilies. Then came the Colonial troops headed by Washington and his staff, some of them in bright and fresh uniforms, and some in a motley array of old garments. The two armies took their places at a distance from the spectators, in two long converging lines, their drums and fifes keeping up lively tunes. On the right was Washington, and on the left Rochambeau, just as in the painting by Trumbull. The sun came out from behind clouds to make the scene sparkle. Presently, the British Army began its march from the fortifications of Yorktown, to the tune of "The World Turned Upside Down," exactly the same tune to which it marched one hundred and fifty years ago to the day and hour. Cornwallis absent, as sick, General O'Hara advanced at the head of the redcoats, and offered his sword to Rochambeau. The latter sent him to Washington, as the commander of the day; and Washington, perhaps to relieve his embarrassment, and perhaps because he thought it undignified to accept the surrender from anyone but Cornwallis, sent him to General Lincoln, who had himself been forced to surrender to the British some time before. The sword was handed over. The British continued their march, and laid down their arms, as specified. The Revolution was won. And, as the editor could not help recalling, the proclamation which had been prepared in Canada, announcing that Vermont had rejoined the British Empire, was indefinitely postponed.

The grand presidential review, and other events of the day were an anticlimax to the surrender, impressive as they were. Yorktown was over. And again, as in 1781, there was a hasty return to the common pursuits of life.

The Commissions whose work over two years made the celebration a magnificent spectacle, deserve great credit. Their efforts were ably assisted by many officers and men of the United States Army. The hospitality of individual Virginians gave a characteristic and personal touch which the Vermont delegation will long remember. The editor is grateful to the Governor for his appointment, and hopes that by means of this account of the event and otherwise, the expense incurred by the State of Vermont may be repaid in some measure.

